

but instead says that it is necessary to “identify the framework for society and to find accommodation between modern and Islamic requirements” (194).

Proponents in the 1950s and 1960s uncritically saw a direct linkage between modernization and the development of liberal democracy. Various developing states, particularly China, instead seem to show a successful “alliance between economic liberalism and state authoritarianism” (Martinelli 2005, 2). The rapid economic development in Chile after the 1973 military coup has also been regarded as evidence that mutual development of democracy and modernization does not always occur. According to Robert Austin, the United States and its allies promoted modernization in Chile as a means of “destruction of the popular support base of Marxist parties” (2003, 52). Other analysts continue to argue that modernization of necessity increases “human choice and autonomy,” making democracy “the logical institutional outcome” (Inglehart and Welzel 2005, 2).

Alberto Martinelli refers to the “intrinsically globalizing character of modernization” (2005, 10). Theories of the dangers of globalization, including the homogenization and created rootlessness of local cultures and the fostering of economic inequality, have been fueled by negative reactions to the modernizing experience, and to the inference in all modernization theory that the United States is a “model for the rest of the world to emulate. Ignored in the process were problems in the US (e.g. racial and economic inequality), as well as its negative effect on other nations/areas as pointed out by dependency theory” (Ritzer 2010, 99).

CONCLUSION

The term *modernization* is invested with meanings that are better unpacked and examined individually, to see what assumptions are necessary to support them. While in the early twenty-first century, few people argue that a decentralized, agrarian, low-technology way of life is preferable, there is a consensus that development has moral implications that require close analysis and planning.

SEE ALSO *Building Codes; Development Ethics; Enlightenment Social Theory; Green Revolution; Industrial Revolution; Secularization; Sustainability and Sustainable Development; Urbanization.*

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MODERNIZATION, CHINESE PERSPECTIVES

For some observers, China illustrates that Western modernism—in the philosophic sense—is no longer the only viable route to modernization. As one commentator notes, *modern* is translated in Chinese by *xiandai* (current generation)—a term that lacks the connotations of the English term *modernization* (Li 2011). If “modernization with Chinese characteristics” is not merely a process that entails accepting, adopting, or imitating Enlightenment rationalism, what is modernization from the Chinese perspective? One response to this question would need to emphasize that, unlike almost all other developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, China has never been colonized (like India) or occupied (like Japan). Despite being attacked by Western powers and forced to cede parts of its territory, China has always retained an independent heartland.

FOUR PHASES

China’s road to modernization within its heartland can be divided into four phases:

1. From the First Opium War (1839–1842) to the end of the Qing dynasty (1911), the goal was

technological modernization, especially with military weapons. Some Qing bureaucrats in the latter part of this period argued that China had to “learn from the Western barbarians to defeat them.”

2. From the Revolution of 1911 to the Nationalist Party retreat to Taiwan in 1949, the main goal was political and cultural modernization. The Revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) overthrew the Qing dynasty and established the Republic of China in 1912. Another significant event was the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Led by intellectuals and influenced by the October Revolution in Russia, it was an anti-imperialist, antifeudal, political, and cultural movement that stressed both science and democracy.
3. From the foundation of the People’s Republic of China (1949) to the end of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), modernization focused on eliminating old forms of land ownership and promoting equalities (as between peasants and workers and between men and women). Some mass Maoist campaigns of class struggle, such as the “anti-rightist” campaign (1957–1958), the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961), which provoked a major famine that lasted for three years, and the Cultural Revolution, clearly caused great social suffering. At the same time, the freeing of women from patriarchal control has given China advantages over some other developing countries, such as India and Indonesia.
4. From the period of Reform and Opening Up initiated by Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) in 1978 to the present, the Chinese government has courted direct foreign investment and the importation of advanced technology and equipment, established special economic zones, and advocated in the countryside a contract system according to which the family has access to its products (Mo 1997). China today is the second-largest economy in the world and is increasingly playing an important and influential role in the global economy. It has also quickly become a leading contributor to scientific research



A poster from the Chinese Cultural Revolution declares, “Learn Science, Build the Country.” During the Maoist Cultural Revolution, modernization proceeded very slowly or stagnated altogether because of a series of mass campaigns of class struggle and the Great Leap Forward, an economic plan that resulted in mass famine. © DAVID POLLACK/CORBIS.

and in the process, according to one scholar, begun to emphasize perhaps more than any other developing country the importance of professional ethics (Mitcham 2009).

CHARACTERISTICS

The distinctive characteristics of China's modernization include not only those highlighted in official documents, such as socialist characteristics, moderate prosperity, integral harmony, and putting people first (Gao 2009), but also:

- *State leadership.* China is a one-party rule country, so modernization continues under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The CCP has continuously requested that all people should unite under the leadership of the party to realize China's modernization.
- *External influence.* At the beginning of China's modernization, Western influences arrived in China by the force of arms. Since the 1980s, foreign influence has again become prominent but more on Chinese terms. Indeed, without foreign capital, technology, and advanced business management methods, China would not have been able to develop economically at its current pace.
- *Population as a big puzzle.* One reason why China's modernizing experience differs from that of other countries with related histories, such as Japan and Russia, is the size of the population. Between 1750 and 1850, China's population grew from about two hundred million to more than four hundred million, and by 1850 it constituted about one-third of the world's population (Rozman 1981). China is now the world's most populous country, with a 2012 population of more than 1.35 billion (World Bank 2014). But the one-child policy of the 1980s stabilized the population in ways that did not take place in, for example, India.

CHALLENGES

Although China's modernization has entered into a new and prosperous stage, serious challenges remain. First, China must confront some lack of balance between the economy, politics, culture, environment, and society. In the past three decades, China has paid more heed to economics, and economic development has outpaced development in other areas. Instrumental rationality prevails over value rationality, which begets social problems like the normalization of dishonesty, indifference, and moral decline. The "Holding Corpse for Money" episode—in which a college student who drowned saving

several children from the same fate was lashed to the side of a boat and held for ransom until payment was received—is merely one example (*People's Daily* 2010). Also, because of pursuing economic growth one-sidedly, people use technology with no criterion but profit; hence, the process of modernization in China rests on costs to natural resources and the environment.

Second, China must face imbalances between the eastern and western regions, and between urban and rural areas. The eastern and coastal parts of China—Beijing, Shenyang, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Hong Kong—have become highly developed. The middle part—including Henan, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Hubei, and Hunan—consists of middle-income areas, which have experienced less economic development. And western China—Gansu, Guizhou, Qinghai, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia—has experienced much less economic development. The National Bureau of Statistics of China reports that the Gini coefficient, which is one measure of inequality, reached 0.474 in China in 2012 and for a decade has exceeded 0.4, which is higher than the warning level of 0.4 set by the United Nations. Meanwhile, China now has some 100 million people living below the poverty line of 2,300 yuan (about 366 US dollars) per year, and the per capita net income of farmers in eleven destitute areas is 4,191 yuan (about 681.5 US dollars) per year (Zhang and Zhao 2013). Problems of prejudice and marginalization have arisen from this unbalanced development. More specifically, access to resources and life chances were distributed unequally not only among urban and rural populations, but also among urban workers who enjoy higher standing within organizational hierarchies. Although peasant-workers (or "migrant workers") make enormous contributions to industrialization and urban modernization (most construction workers are peasant-workers), the terms "peasant" (*nongming*) and "peasant-worker" (*nongmingong*) carry a strong negative connotation in China. Both are "low-quality people" in the eyes of urban residents (Alpermann 2011).

Third, China must address conflicts among different cultures. Three main trends dominate the present Chinese cultural arena: traditional Chinese culture (mainly Confucianism), Western culture, and Marxism. Marxism is the mainstream ideology strongly advocated by the CCP, but traditional Chinese culture and Western culture are also widely embraced by the Chinese people. In addition, there are fifty-six recognized minorities and strong Muslim, Buddhist, and other cultural traditions to deal with (see Davis 2013). These views are not always easily integrated, so people lack a common behavioral standard. This incoherence is especially marked between the ethical standard of traditional Chinese culture and legal standards from Western culture, Marxism, Islam, and Buddhism.

Finally, there is the challenge of external or foreign relations. Managing the nexus of cooperation and competition with Russia, Japan, and the United States—not to mention the Koreas, Philippines, Vietnam, India, and other countries—will require attention and energy that will often compete with domestic affairs.

CONCLUSION

The Chinese people have suffered greatly along the road to modernization, especially during the first three phases. But modernization has led to great achievements, and the living conditions for many Chinese people have improved significantly. The government plan to increase the percentage of the population living in urban areas from 50 percent (as in 2011) to 70 percent (by 2025) is an ambitious plan that will require massive construction for the foreseeable future and pose multiple challenges (see Hillman and Unger 2013). However, modernization should not be reduced to advances in technology or urbanization, but also should include the development of high morals and increased happiness, a society of fairness and justice, the rule of law, and a healthy environment. Today, there is hope that the Chinese people can complete the goal of modernization, which has been expressed as the second stage on the way to what Xi Jinping, the president of China and general-secretary of the CCP, has called the “Chinese Dream” (Kuhn 2013). China will need to focus on other areas in need of modernization. Perhaps the twenty-first century will see not only the rise of China as a modern global economic power, but also the generation of a distinctly Chinese Enlightenment.

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MONDRAGÓN COOPERATIVE CORPORATION

The Mondragón Cooperative Corporation (MCC) includes a group of industrial, retail, service, and support cooperatives mainly located in the Arrasate-Mondragón Valley in the Basque Country of Spain. Many scholars have focused on Mondragón because of the fact that it is a unique case of an industrial cooperative with a longstanding and successful history.

The basic principles of this project since the beginning have been, in MCC’s own words: (1) openness to all; (2) democratic organization; (3) the importance of work; (4) capital as instrumental and subordinate (people over capital); (5) participatory management; (6) minimal salary differentiation; (7) cooperation with the other cooperatives; (8) transformation of society; (9) nondiscrimination in terms of gender, religion, and political affiliation; and (10) education and training for all.

It is a widespread opinion among sociologists and economists that an association of producers trying to work in a way alternative to the capitalist model is destined to either abandon democratic principles or fail economically. Mondragón challenges this opinion. Since the first Mondragón cooperative was founded in 1956, the group has grown and made an increasing profit continuously up to the beginning of the twenty-first century. All the while it has maintained its cooperative structure almost